THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Two-Chinas Proposal

Eustace Seligman

John F. Kennedy On Sacrifice

Alexander Welsh

"Our View" and Ghana's

The Editors

Let's Blow the Lid Off

Gerald W. Johnson

October 16, 1961, 2

12-61 H21402 ARB-18
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Paris*

Those Little Monsters

★ If I am to be killed by Paris traffic please let it not be by a Citroen Deux Chevaux (two horsepower). When I see one I want to kick it.

A million and a half of these dreadful little creatures have been manufactured and at any given moment most of them are trying to park in Paris, climbing over the curb onto the old riding paths under the horse chestnuts. It is a city without meters.

At the bottleneck of Rue St. Honore and Rue Duphot, I stood and watched. Cars banked up in either direction. A No. 73 bus – conductor in glass cage inside – panted in the middle, a beer truck made the bend by cutting the curb. A gendarme with visored hat, cape and white baton waved ineffectually. Pedestrians dived across. Up the street a woman sold colored lottery tickets and a boy went by nibbling the end of a loaf as long as a walking stick. In the center of it all I saw a delivery driver gesticulating to himself. He had passed through the whole emotional gamut and now burnt out and calm was telling himself how it had happened. In front and behind him was a Deux Chevaux.

I do not know how to explain my irritation at this bug. It is a caricature of a car. Take a piece of corrugated roofing, bend it for a hood, bolt it askew on motorcycle wheels (without hubcaps), make the rear higher than the front like a kangaroo, equip it with canvas roof and windows which fold up on themselves, give it chicken-wire seats and you have what the Dutch call "the Ugly Duckling," the Swiss "Do-Schewo" and Latin Americans "Citronetta." It costs 523,000 francs or (for export) around $945. It gives 50 miles to the gallon, and averages 40 mph "sur bonne route," and it's virtually indestructible. The nation of Rodin produced this.

Having thus denounced it I will add (as you suspected) that these little monsters gain your respect. They are darting about all over the world, like waterbugs. They symbolize the emergence of the working man into the new industrial middle-class prosperity in the Common Market countries. One thinks grimly what competition Deux Chevaux and Volkswagen will give the genteel British when they join the Common Market, as they surely must! The competition, the cross-fertilization of ideas, the battle for 250 million consumers will be breathtaking!

To an American, France is even more of a challenge than Britain. It is changing as rapidly, its prosperity is the highest in years as it skates over civil war, and its scale of values is widely different. In France Art and Beauty count. They are as solid and important as stocks and bonds.

This change of values shocks, delights and confuses Americans. It is a sight to see a busload of newly-landed Americans on a guided tour confronted with the unclothed masterpieces of the Louvre, or casually introduced to the medieval chastity belts at the Cluny. Indeed nude mammary decorations in Paris become cloying.

Ah me, this reporter remembers the surreptitious thrill he once got from good old Hiram Powers' "Greek Slave" in the Corcoran Gallery in Washington and how he blushingly averted his eyes from the fair creature when others walked into the same alcove! At the Trocadero's temporary exhibition of sculpture here yesterday he saw half an acre of nudes – the latest batch from the fervid French sculptors with rather bored sightseers casually comparing them, thigh for thigh. Alas! that the time has arrived for TRB when what used to be an electric charge has become merely a Work of Art.

The American goes about Paris, drinking into his pores the gay beauty of the place, the challenge to the stodgy Anglo-Saxon outlook. And having yielded, he still probes the riddle. Unlike London, Paris shows no war scars. Why? Britain fought it out. Was this decision good or bad? The comparison is perhaps unfair and certainly unprofitable, yet it keeps knocking at the secret door; why does France never, even now, seem able to govern itself? The current favorite villain in the story is the French school where every child has a number – the number of its scholastic rank in the fiercely competitive rat race, teaching it that every other child is a rival, a competitor. Americans on the whole like each other. In France factions seem to hate each other, even as Papa de Gaulle tries to lift up their eyes to *la Grandeur* and *la Gloire*.

There stands Charles de Gaulle on a pillar of silence. Suppose he had been killed in the latest plot: a push from the fascist Right to seize France would have been met by a counter-push from the Left. Result? Civil war probably; the most devastating blow that could hit the shaky West.

The One and Only General

★ De Gaulle is terribly difficult. Often he confuses France with de Gaulle. Yet Paris newsmen grudgingly acknowledge a logic in his position. Take NATO. He is persuaded that neither Moscow nor Washington would use nuclear weapons against the other in a war; Europe (*i.e.*, France) would be the battlefield. Hence France, he argues, must depend basically on itself, not NATO, and grab nuclear arms if it possibly can.

Again, take his studied insults to the UN. His withdrawal here is positively unnerving. Yet it comes down primarily to Algeria, newsmen here insist. He argues that France, and France alone, can disengage itself from Algeria and that he is attempting this supremely difficult feat while the little UN countries impudently yap and yammer and make it more difficult.

An outsider can come into a foreign land and explain easily what must be done: Bonn must deal with East Germany; Britain must join the Common Market; France must drop Algeria. Yes, and the United States must desegregate. It is all simple. Perhaps the Cold War will wait while we make these changes. Meanwhile there are things to be done, like manufacturing Deux Cheveux for the City without Parking Meters. Let me go out now and find one to kick. *Voila.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 145 Number 16 Issue 2450 October 16, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc. Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.

"Our View" and Ghana's

THE WEEK

3. "Our View" and Ghana's; The New Speaker; McCone Miscast; Education – Another Try; TV Censorship; Sand versus Steel

ARTICLES

8. A Bird Is Singing – But What's the Song? by James R. Newman

9. The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson

10. The Ubiquitous Cuban Militia by Ernst Halperin

11. A Two-Chinas Policy by Eustace Seligman

DEPARTMENTS

15. Books 19. Feiffer 20. Movies 21. Records 23. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Selig S. Harrison, Managing Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
Christopher Jencks, Associate Editor
Mary Newcomb Allen, Research
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Sidney Hyman, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

There was a note of injured innocence in the President's remarkable statement on September 4 that "in the administration of [foreign aid] funds, we should give great attention and consideration to those nations who have our view of the world crisis." And if one did not respect the Kennedy instinct for straightforward realism, the logical inference would have been that the pontiffs of neutralism at Belgrade had really and truly been expected to live up to their pretensions of moral leadership, and that the Administration's elaborately constructed aid program had been built on these sanguine expectations. This inference was, however, unwelcome at the White House. Instead, it was suggested that the readiness shown at Belgrade to accommodate to the Soviet line on nuclear testing and on Berlin had simply gotten the Presidential Irish up.

But if Mr. Kennedy's pique showed through, his real intentions were not to be put to the test for some weeks. The month of September witnessed a still unresolved behind-the-scenes controversy over whether to give large-scale assistance to neutralist regimes, and if so, what aid criteria to apply in discriminating between one shade of neutralism and another. For the first time the President and his principal advisers have found themselves face to face with the obstinate reality that most of the major countries now getting our help, or eligible for large-scale future assistance, do not have "our view of the world crisis"; and that politicians and factions who do have "our view" are in many cases compelled to respond to a warning such as the President's on September 4 by reassuring their own countrymen that they do not.

By sheer chance the Volta River development plan sponsored by the Ghana regime of Kwame Nkrumah has become the test case. Tito had initially been described after Belgrade as the principal object of the President's wrath. But while there were no aid decisions affecting Tito on the docket, the long-pending, $133 million US aid agreement with Nkrumah for construction of the Volta hydroelectric project was scheduled to be signed and sealed in a formal ceremony at Accra on October 5. Some officials suggested that Nkrumah's "softness" on Berlin and certain Moscow-serving pronouncements he made in the course of a summer Sino-Soviet tour were reason enough to retract the assurance of US help given him in a letter by the President on June 29. But other influences were at work too. To speak of a "Nigeria lobby" is an exaggeration, but quite a few aid supporters in and out

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the government see Nigeria as the most promising candidate for US help in Africa and argue that if choices must be made, Ghana with its 6.7 million people has less claim on Washington than a country of 33 million whose leaders are, at least for the present, moderates. A comparable viewpoint was expressed in an off-the-record Washington address to a group of government experts on Africa September 21 by a spokesman of the US copper mining concern, American Metal Climax, Incorporated, which owns an estimated 47 percent of the Rhodesian Selection Trust and has a reputation for encouraging moderate African nationalist causes in Central Africa. Though the spokesman, Mr. F. Taylor Ostrander, termed the Volta loan "necessary," he said in the next breath that it "represents a fiasco in our relations with all other more sensible African nations" and "puts us in the most unhappy position of having awarded the largest prize to the most troublesome and potentially most dangerous African leader."

The catalytic agent precipitating the State Department decision last week to send a special review mission to Ghana before giving final agreement to the Volta contribution was, however, an internal political upheaval in Accra. Deteriorating finances for which the drop in cocoa prices and erratic "prestige" spending are variously blamed led Nkrumah to promulgate stiff austerity measures earlier this year. On top of sales and income taxes affecting upper- and middle-class groups as well as general price levels, he imposed a $30.8 million forced savings program requiring those cocoa farmers and other laborers earning $28 per month and over to put five percent of their wages into government bonds. Then, having introduced his program with virtually no buildup, Nkrumah left the country to smolder during a nine-week absence abroad. He returned to find dock and railway workers on strike and his opponents waiting to take advantage of his troubles.

He thereupon ordered a cabinet shakeup, the round-up and arrest of more than 50 prominent political enemies, and made a diversionary play to the nationalist gallery – the dismissal of a top British civil servant and 70 of the 200 British officers in the Ghana Army, including the Commander in Chief. As the *Observer* of London notes, the reshuffled cabinet "represents the moderate socialist wing of the governing party." But the firing of Finance Minister K. A. Gbedemah, who had originally negotiated the Volta agreement and was trusted by US and British financial circles, has been linked in the Western press with Nkrumah's Moscow and Peking visits. Relatively little attention has been paid to Nkrumah's selection of the strongly pro-Commonwealth Roman Catholic Kofi Baako as Minister of Defense and of the non-ideological "hatchetman" Krobo Edusei for the key post of Minister of Industries.

What Nkrumah has done is surround himself with intimates drawn from the new mass organizations he has been setting up as a counter-force to the influence of old-line leaders (notably Gbedemah) within his Convention People's Party. The choice of these men signifies a shift to a more militant nationalist and statist line; but at the same time, Nkrumah has pointedly excluded certain xenophobes in the Trade Union Council and the Bureau of African Affairs who are regarded as the authentic "left" in Ghana.

Nkrumah has been as plain as it is possible to be in saying that he plans to build a statist Ghana, governed by a Leninist party, which can serve as a model and a base for his pan-African aspirations. He said so at the Pan-African Congress in 1945; he styled himself "a non-denominational Christian and a Marxian socialist" when he came out of prison in 1950; and he has reiterated his ambitions in a recent book, *I Speak of Freedom*. If London and Washington have expected an Africa fashioned in the liberal democratic image, it is being said in Accra, that is their fault.

Should Washington use Ghana's internal crisis as a pretext for pulling out of the Volta project, the result would be a step-up of the propaganda, already heard since September 4, that rapid Ghanaian (and African) development cannot be achieved through reliance on the West. Nkrumah's own position might be undermined, but with no assurance of a more amenable successor. To the US plan for a review mission, Nkrumah replied requesting a decision on the Volta loan by mid-October. This has put the US in the position of calling all bets off, or seeming to swallow its threats. If the Administration wanted to take a last look at Ghana's political – and fiscal – stability, and to do some last-minute bargaining, this should have been possible through covert official channels. It need not have been done in the way most likely to strengthen declared enemies and to weaken potential friends.

Much of the present confusion within the Administration arises because the aid program has in the past been oversold by some of its supporters. In re-defining our policy, it may be helpful to state the case for aid in negative terms: It cannot be counted on to prevent the countries whose independence we help underwrite from deciding at any particular moment that it is in their national interest to side with the Communists on some international issue. Its purpose can be nothing more nor less than to forestall, over the long term, the establishment and consolidation of a monolithic Communist world. It will not recruit camp-followers for "our view." Moreover, as Mr. G. L. Mehta, the former Indian Ambassador to Washington, asked last week, "what precisely does 'our view of the world crisis' mean? Does France share the American 'view' about negotiating with Mr. Khrushchev? Has the British Government the same 'view' about fighting over Berlin?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Speaker

The House of Representatives and the President do not have to wait for the second session of the 87th Congress to meet on January 10 to find out how much they will miss Sam Rayburn. That was previewed during the final four weeks of the first session when the Speaker was resting at his Texas home. To be sure, the Acting Speaker, Rep. John McCormack of Massachusetts, was trying to perform as a temporary stand-in without elected authority. But the House frightened itself as well as outsiders by the virtual collapse of order and direction at critical preadjournment moments.

The new Democratic leadership in the House will be unavoidably weak for some time to come. Accustomed to Rayburn's touch on the reins, the House will take a while to adjust to whatever new pace is set. But more important, after years of Rayburn dominance, the House would like a little of the relaxation the Senate has been enjoying since Lyndon Johnson and his ferocious energy moved to the other side of the street.

All of which is bad news for the Administration. In the first session of Kennedy's first Congress, the House killed major parts of the President's program the Senate had previously approved. With leadership less firm than Rayburn's in the second session, the House can become the graveyard of the New Frontier.

Naturally, therefore, the Chief Executive is more than a little tempted to take a hand in the selection of Rayburn's successor. But having been a Representative himself, Mr. Kennedy knows what a dim view his former colleagues would take of any open interference, and how much dearly bought goodwill among senior Southerners would melt away if he tried to twist their arms. The sacred *House Manual*, section 26, says: "The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker."

President Kennedy's present decision is said to be to stand aside and watch out for the flying glass and bricks that may accompany a contest for leadership. But some of his political advisers are still arguing that a little discreet suggesting wouldn't hurt – indeed, that it is required if he is to get even the minimum he feels he needs from the House. If the House were to "chuse their Speaker" tomorrow, they point out, the most likely winner would be John McCormack, in accordance with the seniority tradition. (There have been exceptions: Joe Martin was advanced over nine other Republicans to become presiding officer of the 80th Congress, and Rayburn leap-frogged three senior Democrats when he was chosen Speaker.) How likely McCormack's selection appears today, if events are allowed to take their course, is shown by the fact that most of the members prominently mentioned as "possibilities" for the Speakership have privately visited the Majority Leader to offer to put his name in nomination.

Yet, Mr. McCormack is a thin reed, and what is needed is a support of cast iron. The Administration needs a House general as effective as Sam Rayburn was that day, 20 years ago, when he made a place in Congressional history. On August 12, 1941, isolationists were on the verge of killing the bill to extend the Draft Act, on which the whole preparedness program for World War II depended. "The Speaker knew, with the aid of his party assistants, that it was doubtful if a majority of the Representatives would vote for House passage of the bill," J. T. Salter recalls in *Public Men In and Out of Office*, "and he knew that it was his responsibility to do something to assure a continuation of the defense program. Thus, he called upon Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the top official of the armed forces for letters to read to the House in order to impress its membership with the seriousness of the situation; and during the closing minutes of the debate before the roll-call vote was taken, he exerted all of his influence as Speaker by taking the floor and appealing to his party for support. Beyond that, he utilized his knowledge of parliamentary procedure during the few moments of confusion as to what had happened to freeze once and for all time the announced bare majority vote of 203 yeas to 202 nays, by which the bill passed. This vote was determined by making last minute pleas to doubtful colleagues."

It will take a man with this understanding of his duty and the strength to do it to bring the splintered, slow-moving House into step with the White House and the Senate. A loyal lieutenant, McCormack has neither the forcefulness, at 69, the grasp of issues, nor the strategic skill of an effective general.

If competence were the primary criterion, Richard Bolling of Missouri would probably score highest. Young (45), smart, forceful, experienced, "practical" enough to be a Rayburn protégé, a native Alabaman

WHO'S BUILDING SHELTERS?

The New Republic *is engaged in a study of the nation's civilian defense program. Our readers can help us gather information. We are interested in learning what is being done or planned in your community by individuals, families or institutions (i.e. schools) to provide protection against fallout or blast damage from a nuclear attack.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

representing a border state, familiar with a broad range of issues as well as strategy and tactics, he fulfills the job description uniquely. Reps. Wilbur Mills, Arkansas, and Hale Boggs of Louisiana would, by New Frontier procedure, be marked "unsuitable for this assignment," on grounds that men who signed the Southern Manifesto cannot lead a national party. And Francis Walter of Pennsylvania would be filed and forgot for lack of political clearance – big-city leaders would not cotton to the elevation of the Un-American Activities chairman whose immigration policies are so hated by national minorities among their constituents.

Majority Whip Carl Albert of Oklahoma would rate a respectable score: intelligent, good record as Whip, first-rate on issues he knows well such as agriculture and minimum wage, liked and respected, less a driver and less "committed" than Bolling, with perhaps less proven capacity to anticipate problems, understand how committees work and how to deal with power forces in the course of legislative battles.

Perhaps the President could not swing the selection of a new Speaker even if he personally preferred someone other than McCormack. He would have to be able to crack the New England delegations, solid around McCormack now, line up the New York and Pennsylvania delegations, and help reinforce existing sentiment for a stronger leader among House liberals – North, East and West. The effort might cost more than the President at this moment is prepared to pay.

The Speaker is not, of course, the whole cheese in our Congressional system. The Floor Leader and the Whips fill out the leadership group. In the approaching session, the Democrats will need, especially if McCormack succeeds Rayburn, the best available man in each command post, plus perfect White House liaison.

McCone Miscast

The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency has very large sums of money at his personal disposal; he is not publicly accountable for his day-to-day decisions; his capacity for objective evaluation of information affects the reliability of intelligence estimates the President receives. Because it is clear to us that John A. McCone is not exceptionally gifted with the capacity for cool and unprejudiced judgment, we expressed the hope last week that the President would search for a more suitable director between now and January.

An incident from the past bears on this matter of suitability. Mr. McCone is remembered among 10 professors at the California Institute of Technology who signed a public statement in 1956 suggesting there might be wisdom in Adlai Stevenson's proposal for a cessation of nuclear testing. It has been reported on credible authority that Mr. McCone made a heated, verbal demand at a trustees' meeting that the ten be fired (he at the time was raising funds for the Republican Presidential campaign). No action was taken; and the President of Cal Tech, who scoffs at the whole episode, denies that Mr. McCone ever made such a request, at least in any formal way – though he was "extremely angry." Such glandular behavior would not disqualify a man as, say, a competent builder of boats, but it is pertinent to the question of whether John McCone ought to be placed in charge of CIA.

Education–Another Try

Proposals for federal aid to education have traditionally fallen into two categories: "pork-barrel" legislation offering modest grants to schools and colleges for specific purposes, and "state-aid" legislation offering large grants to state governments for more general purposes. From the pork-barrel have come land-grant colleges, vocational high schools, hot lunches, veterans' scholarships, and the National Defense Education Act. The last session of Congress reached into the barrel for the $900 million education bill to help schools which serve communities with large tax-exempt federal installations, and to continue NDEA support for instruction in science and foreign languages.

By contrast with the benefits bought by special purpose legislation, proposals for broad federal aid to state governments have brought nothing but repetitive hearings, polemical speeches and defeated bills. The rejection of the Administration's request to transfer nearly $800 million a year from federal to state treasuries is only the latest in a long series of frustrations for those who believe that education is better financed by income and corporate taxes than by sales and property taxes.

Pundits in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare name a number of villains for the scuttling of their state-aid programs: Southern states-righters, Northern Catholics, Midwestern economizers, and even occasionally their own fumbling on Capitol Hill. But few believe that any of these obstacles will soon vanish or that state aid will have a better chance in 1962. They are therefore feeling around for a new approach to the financial difficulties of our schools, which will antagonize fewer powerful minorities.

If previous experience is a guide, the Administration's best hope will be some sort of super-NDEA, a potpourri designed simultaneously to remedy the more glaring defects in the nation's over-all system of education and to buy off enough interest groups for the bill to pass the House. Such a bill would presumably include low interest loans for both Catholic and secular classroom construction; special subsidies to rural and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

small town school districts with unusually low tax bases; interest-free, long-term loans (or perhaps outright grants) to students from white and blue collar families which have not saved enough to meet rapidly rising college costs; and perhaps a special program for more teachers of English composition to supplement NDEA support for science and language instruction.

When General Eisenhower told Congress that local school boards had failed to provide a nationally adequate supply of scientists and linguists, or adequate secondary school testing and guidance, he got a ready ear. Ultimately a majority voted to override local niggardliness and spend federal money to improve the situation. If this Administration tells Congress that the near illiteracy of many high school graduates is also a threat to national security, that the meager instruction offered most rural and small town children is a prime cause of our staggering welfare bills, that the failure of most states to help the majority of their residents pay for higher education creates national (though not always local) manpower problems, Congress is unlikely to play ostrich. If Mr. Kennedy then recommends not broad legislation aimed at thousands of unspecified and undefined shortcomings which most Congressmen want attacked locally, but limited solutions to the specific national problems he enumerates, he may get not only attention but support.

TV Censorship

The broadcasters are correct: Radio-TV censorship is a cause of real concern. Only, contrary to their claims, it didn't originate with the new FCC Chairman's attempts to upgrade programming. Rather it originated, and emanates as strongly, as ever, from within and with the compliant consent of, an industry petrified at the prospect of offending some customers in the audience.

This was established in testimony at the FCC's New York hearings into television programming controls. Proctor & Gamble, TV's biggest advertiser (which will spend close to $100 million for time and production costs this year), told the Commission that it will not permit the inclusion in its shows of any "material that may give offense, either directly or by inference, to any organized minority group, lodge, or other organizations, institutions, residents of any state or section of the country, or a commercial organization of any sort . . . [including] reform societies (Anti-Tobacco League, for example). . . ."

Most of the other large radio-TV spenders who appeared, including GM, Chrysler and DuPont, echoed similar sentiments. Bell & Howell was a notable exception, expressing its belief that "Americans are growing increasingly realistic. . . ."

It is interesting that in the same issue of *Broadcasting*, the semi-official industry trade journal, which reported these statements in great detail, the magazine's lead editorial was devoted to attacking Chairman Newton Minow's recent suggestion that the networks provide one hour, five times a week, of quality late afternoon children's programming. *Broadcasting* called it a first step toward a "dictatorship" whereby "the government will direct TV's programs and the First Amendment will have been as good as repealed." Not a word of comment was addressed to the real censorship which sponsors admit they now exercise over the bulk of programs currently on the air.

Sand versus Steel

Last May and again in a revised bill introduced on August 28, Sen. Paul H. Douglas asked the Congress to provide for the preservation of the Indiana Dunes and "related areas in the state of Indiana" – some 9,000 acres of land at the southern end of Lake Michigan, approximately one-half of it beach land. Easterners may be surprised to learn that although the Great Lakes are freshwater seas, still their surf is powerful enough to pound rocks into sand just as oceans do; and in some places the winds blow it up off the shoreline and shape it into long hills of drift, very much like the dunes of the Middle Atlantic coast. There are only two "National Seashore Recreational Areas" of this type: the Cape Cod National Seashore (established as a public preserve by Congress this year), and Cape Hatteras, which covers more than 28,000 acres of the coast of North Carolina. Hatteras is relatively isolated. The Indiana Dunes, however, are within an hour's drive of the most densely populated industrial complex in the Midwest, the Chicago-East Chicago-Gary area.

Douglas and a scatter of fellow-conservationists, supported by a growing number of the local inhabitants, are fighting both Indiana Senators (a Republican and a Democrat) and, with the exception of Rep. Ray Madden, the rest of the Congressional delegation from Indiana, the present Governor of the state and his entourage and the previous Governor too – all of whom prefer a steel mill to a park, or better still, two steel mills. Bethlehem and National Steel have already bought into this area; Bethlehem has talked about setting up a $350 million operation if the federal government dredges a harbor to allow ore boats access to it.

If Senator Douglas loses his fight it's a sure thing that both Indiana Senators will move heaven and earth to induce the federal government to appropriate the $35 million or more needed to deepen the harbor and assure the erection of a stand of blast furnaces and chimneys pouring smoke and money over what is now clean sand.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Bird Is Singing – But What's the Song?

If I had a talking bird (as I did when I was a boy) I would much rather he could say two things than one. However handsome his plumage, elegant his diction, uplifting his refrain, a single phrase is apt to pall. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori;*" "*Deutschland Über Alles;*" "Close that damn window;" Carthage must be destroyed;" "Fine day" – all admirable sentiments, but wearisome as a diet. Bird speech, like man speech, should be various.

I am always happy when Joseph Alsop is happy. The latter does not, so far as I can judge, happen often. A correspondent of the *Furies*, he is distinctly a monody man. But when we were caught in the U-2 nonsense, some 16 or 18 months ago (how time flies), he broke precedent and glowed. Getting caught, he seemed to feel, was a marvelous boost to morale. Nothing like it since the sinking of the *Maine*. And now again, as may be seen from his column of September 25, Alsop is happy. Positively euphoric. And not without reason.

The reason, as he gives it, is as follows. A "careful recalculation of the probable nuclear striking power of the Soviet Union," yields, among others, the "most cheerful" result that the Soviets have a "maximum . . . of well under 50 ICBM's," not 200 as had been feared. (The symbol ICBM's refers, if I am not mistaken, to a kind of rocket, not to a new business machine.) Since these results always come in what Alsop calls "spectrum-form" (which may not mean much to the plain reader, but if it is good enough for Alsop it is good enough for me) we can all shout hooray. Because, as anyone can see, 50 ICBM's are "not nearly enough to allow the Soviets to consider surprise attack on this country." And unless the "new Pentagon has been practicing massive self-deception," which in light of the success of our recent Miami Armada is clearly unthinkable, the "message of the revised figures is a happy one." As a clincher, Alsop points out that the new Pentagon is unlikely to be mistaken "in view of the air staff concurrents." We do not have to fear another Pearl Harbor. Hooray!

Still, I am not wholly content. For there are certain questions in the air which one would like to have answered, grave questions which not only are of interest to me, but should be of interest to sundry officials of our government. I shall put them.

1. How did Alsop get this information? As an old intelligence man (Intelligence, military) I seem to recall that what is known as the assessment of enemy capabilities is the most secret kind of activity. Are columnists now privy to such data? If so, is it intended they make the data known? Have new clauses been written into the Espionage Act which permit such disclosures? Had I called up the new Pentagon and asked the air staff, even the air staff concurrents, how many ICBM's they thought the Soviets had, would they have told me, even if I promised not to repeat it? Or would they have told me only on condition I promised to repeat it?

2. Do the figures Alsop gives represent the actual results of the new Pentagon's recalculations? I shall assume that he is truthfully reporting what he believes. But this leaves only two alternatives. Either he was told what he should not have been told and should have known enough not to repeat; or he was deliberately handed false figures, which is a grave offense. For while it matters nothing if Alsop himself is mistaken, it matters much if his readers are fed propaganda in the guise of official findings. If one assumes that Alsop has been gulled, one must assume that this is part of the same tendency that manifests itself in the widespread effort to condition the American people to accepting the idea of a nuclear war, and to persuade us that air raid shelters will keep most of us whole. Therefore, the line runs, it is reasonably safe for the government to pursue a "tough" policy with the Soviets. For if the worst comes, the majority will experience nothing more than a few days of discomfort, followed by "victory," and quick restoration of all the civilities from Supermarkets to TV.

3. If the new Pentagon and the air staff concurrents are so accurate in judging Soviet capabilities, why should this not prove an incomparable boon to disarmament negotiations? As I understand it, one of the major obstacles to progress in this sphere is mistrust, *viz.*, that we can never be sure that the Russians are not deceiving us when they offer to reduce their armaments by a given percentage. That is, if they say they have X planes, Y tons of fissionables, Z missiles, and then propose destroying 50 percent of these, how can we be certain the Soviets are telling the truth about stockpiles? How do we know X, Y and Z are not false figures, much lower than quantities actually on hand? But if we are now in position to make precise estimates of a single item such as their supply of ICBM's, how can they hope to fool us about the major categories of their armory?

Perhaps Alsop will enlighten us on these questions. I confess I have my own notions. For "What song the Sirens sang" – if quoting Sir Thomas Browne may be permitted – or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, "though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture."

James R. Newman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's Blow the Lid Off

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the child of the Fund for the Republic which, in turn, is an agency of the Ford Foundation, plods along in an undramatic and even stolid fashion, examining this and that and turning in reports on the same without having, to date, precipitated any insurrections, riots or even bar-room brawls. But here is a formal prediction that one day that outfit is going to blow the lid off in a way that will throw the then current Joe McCarthys into hydrophobic fits that will astonish the natives.

This is inevitable because the reports of the Center are always intelligent and, as well as one can judge at a distance – it operates in Santa Barbara, California – usually disinterested. Any intelligent and disinterested examination of our institutions is bound to turn up things that the DAR and, mayhap, even the Republican National Committee, don't want turned up; and whenever such are exposed, shrieks of "gunpowder, treason, and plot!" rend the air.

For instance, the Center has just issued a 10-page pamphlet with the apparently harmless title "Government and Business in International Trade," written by one Heinrich Kronstein. Dr. Kronstein, it seems, is a legal beagle dividing his time between Georgetown University and the University of Frankfurt, in Germany. He has thus acquired familiarity with our external economic policy from both the outside and the inside, without being committed to either. His observations are unemotional, but some of them sting.

His exposition of our economic policy in Venezuela, for example, is a disconcerting revelation of the way in which parochial greed, largely of the domestic oil producers, has partially invalidated the best efforts of the nation to establish just and reasonable relations with that important South American nation. On the other hand, he shows how bureaucrats have frequently paralyzed American businessmen trying to conduct foreign operations equitably and intelligently.

But this, while blistering, is actually a minor matter by comparison with the way in which Dr. Kronstein edges around another question. He does not actually raise it, except by implication, so his brochure is not likely to stir up the animals. Eventually, somebody at the Center is going to ask it, plump!, and then the balloon will go up.

Dr. Kronstein's subject is "Government and Business," and the question is, what's the difference?

There is a difference, and it is important to philosophers and logicians, but is it important to the people who have the votes? When any authority can say to a man, "Obey, you dog, or die!" and has power to make it stick, that authority *is* government, regardless of what it calls itself. It may be Khrushchev, it may be the board of directors of a corporation, it may be the dictator of a labor union; no matter – if it is able to compel a man to crawl or die, that authority, from that man's standpoint, is the government, and the President, Congress and the Supreme Court are mere gentlemen of the ensemble, decorative, but not essential to the plot.

When a man is trained to one, and only one means of livelihood, and that means is monopolized, the monopoly is his sovereign lord, and the apparatus of the state is irrelevant. To make it relevant, the state must have power to make the monopoly crawl, and that, my lords and gentlemen, raises the horrendous bogy of statism! The fact that statism already exists under the name of monopoly is neither here nor there in a world in which semantics is more important than sense, names than facts. If a dictator can call himself president of a labor union, or chairman of the board, he remains a dictator, but he is likely to go unwhipped by the hand of justice.

Yet it is fairly plain that if we are to keep our mixed economy operating much longer, we must face the question of this undetermined boundary between business and government. The first cold-blooded, really disinterested examination of this question will raise an unholy row, but the sooner it is raised, the sooner we shall get it over with and be free to work out a foreign policy based on equity and common sense rather than on the number of votes commanded in the House of Representatives by some segment of industry, or some segment of organized labor.

The Center would seem to be the logical agency to make this study. The suggestion is advanced hesitantly, because it is a sort of let's-you-and-him fight proposition. Returning travelers declare that Santa Barbara is a charming town and to see it sacked and burned by fanatics, whether of the Communist *homoousians* or of the John Birch *homoiousians*, or – as is more likely – by a grisly coalition of the two, would be grievous.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CASTRO HAS GIVEN THEM GUNS – AND STATUS

The Ubiquitous Cuban Militia

Havana

The streets are swarming with the armed men and women of Castro's militia. One sees them drilling in the quiet side streets of the Vedado residential district, or strolling in groups and pairs under the trees and arcades of downtown avenues, taking a quick meal in the air-cooled gloom of a cafeteria, or sipping a three-cent coffee at one of the typically Cuban open-air coffee-bars. Most often of all they are to be seen on guard duty in the doorways of nationalized factories, office and apartment buildings, leaning against the wall or sitting comfortably in a wicker-chair.

They carry the most varied types of firearms – snub-nosed Czechoslovak machine-pistols to elegant little ivory-plated revolvers dangling in a holster or stuck in a cartridge-belt. They usually wear uniforms – olive-green breeches and green or blue shirts, with a neatly folded beret stuck in a shoulder-strap. But some of them, who have not yet been issued their uniform pieces, perform their duties in civilian clothes. I was once startled to see a gray-haired lady in a print frock on guard outside a big shop: she was sitting in an arm-chair with a heavy carbine across her lap, and gathered around her was a chattering group of friends and relatives who had come to keep her company.

There are quite a number of elderly men and women in the militia, but the bulk of the force is of course composed of young people in their twenties, and even of teenagers. The female sex is well represented both in quantity and in quality. The young girls, looking trimmer and slimmer than usual in their neat uniforms, maintain their elaborate civilian hairdo and complete make-up, and are decked out with all the various ear-rings and finger rings, bracelets, bangles and pendants beloved of Cuban women.

The spectacle of these permanent-waved, bejewelled young gun-carrying girls under the palm trees and the tropical sky makes the scene seem as if one had been transplanted onto the setting of some Broadway musical. Yet there is nothing comic about Castro's militia. They are in training all the time, well-equipped with the small-arms suitable for guerrilla house-to-house fighting, and they are extremely numerous. It is difficult to say how many there are, since they are never all in uniform at the same time, but even conservative estimates range from 300,000 to 500,000.

It is by no means difficult to get into the militia: the problem in Cuba is not how to get a gun, but how to avoid having it thrust into one's hands by the government. Opponents of the regime often complain of the pressure put on them to join the militia, and they proudly insist that whatever happens, they will never do so. It is an attitude which does not betray the slightest confidence that they might be able, in the event of joining, to sway their fellow-militiamen away from the regime, and this makes one extremely doubtful of the stories of ferment and disaffection among the militia which one can sometimes hear from these same opponents. Not all members of the militia were equally enthusiastic at the time of enrollment, and drilling and guard duty has dampened the ardor of a considerable number more; yet even today, to wear the militia uniform is regarded by friend and foe alike as a definite and unequivocal expression of allegiance to Castro.

And this militia is the mainstay of this regime. With the foundation of the new Marxist-Leninist Party, the regime may soon develop into an orthodox party dictatorship of the Soviet type. But the militia still is, and has been for some time, the group on which Castro's power is based. It is above all his main striking force in the armed struggle against counter-revolution. The counter-revolutionary guerrillas in the Escambray Mountains were defeated by throwing overwhelming numbers of militia against them, far greater numbers of men than Batista was ever able to pit against Castro's guerrillas. "We mobilize 50,000 men, and a fortnight later we exchange them for another 50,000, and so on," said Fidel recently in describing his anti-guerrilla tactics to a group of foreign correspondents.

The wave of anti-Castro sabotage and bomb-throwing reached its peak last April, just before the ill-fated landing. Apparently, the idea was to force Castro into employing the same type of ruthless police-terror by which some years before Batista had so thoroughly discredited himself as to precipitate his downfall. The flaw in this calculation was that Batista had had to rely on an unpopular professional army and police force, and on gangs of hired toughs, whereas Castro was able to call out large masses of civilian volunteers to his defense. The militia was set to guard all buildings and installations threatened by sabotage, and at the same time tens of thousands of committees of vigilantes were organized with the task of rooting out the resistance fighters. Thus, instead of demoralizing and disintegrating the regime, the sabotage campaign actually activated the followers of Castro and increased their fervor by setting them new tasks. Though

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it was the failure of the invasion itself, rather than the mobilization of the militia and the vigilantes, that finally so demoralized the resistance movement that it may never regain its momentum, the mere presence of the militia in a building greatly limits the scope of any sabotage. For while resistance fighters might not shrink from killing soldiers engaged on guard duty, it would be extremely unwise of them to incur the wrath of the public by hurting militia-men and women who are mere civilians. There are probably few governments in Latin America which would dare to distribute arms to hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers without the precaution of first disciplining them in the strait-jacket of regular Army life. That he is able to do so is a trump card in Castro's game. "The reactionary bourgeoisie which thumps its chests talking about democracy," he declaimed in a recent speech, "is incapable of giving one single rifle to one single worker or one single peasant, is incapable of arming the people, is incapable of entrusting power to the people."

This line of reasoning appears entirely convincing to the average Cuban militiaman: one can hardly pay the common man a greater compliment than to entrust him with a gun, and in countries like Cuba, with their Hispanic cult of courage and manliness, the carrying of arms has a specially great significance.

Ernst Halperin

A Two-Chinas Policy

by Eustace Seligman

In the General Assembly last week the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs reaffirmed in emphatic terms his government's opposition to the admission of Communist China to the UN. Within the month, in all probability, a vote will have been taken on this question. What position should the US take, and will it be supported or outvoted? Should we continue to oppose, or should we accept Communist China's membership as inevitable; and if so, in what form?

Many Americans – probably a large majority – believe passionately that we should stand firm, that if voted down, we should use our veto, and that if Communist China is admitted notwithstanding, we should withdraw from the United Nations, or at the very least give serious consideration to pulling out.

At the other extreme, is a small minority which is of the opinion that the US should support admission of Communist China to the UN *in place of* the present Republic of China, even though this would mean handing over Taiwan – or Formosa – to the Communists. An exponent of this view is Felix Greene, a British citizen residing in California who has recently visited Communist China. In his book *Awakened China*, he states:

"Our China policy – or more accurately, our lack of policy – will, it seems certain to me, involve us in ever-increasing difficulty and embarrassment. We are out of phase with our closest allies. But one day, perhaps by persuasion of our allies, the United States may find it to her best interest no longer to oppose China's entry into the United Nations. Whether this happens tomorrow or in ten years' time, such a change will necessarily appear as an American diplomatic defeat, for it will require abandonment of that guardianship of Chiang which we have so frequently justified on grounds of 'moral obligation'. The easing of the present tension between the United States and China is surely essential if the peace of our world is to be preserved. I do not believe that this tragically bitter enmity is likely to be resolved by any sudden 'bright' solution; and still less will it disappear as a result of clever maneuvers aimed at putting the other side to disadvantage in debate. And least of all are we likely to find a solution through the much-discussed 'Two Chinas' policy, which would attempt to make Taiwan an independent country. For the Chinese consider (and with compelling historical reason) that Taiwan is part of China and any such 'solution' would only further embitter the Chinese people and would only consolidate and in no way ease the tensions that exist at present."

Similarly, William J. Lederer, one of the co-authors of the widely read *The Ugly American*, in his book, *A Nation of Sheep*, expresses doubt whether we should continue to defend Taiwan: "The Chinese Nationalists are sustained in Formosa by Americans, and perhaps

Eustace Seligman *is a lawyer, a member of the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Hey – Does it Feel as if We're Beginning to Move?"

for excellent reasons. However, it is an expensive operation. Directly and indirectly, the US probably spends about three-quarters of a billion dollars a year defending and upholding Chiang Kai-shek. The State Department and Department of Defense will not permit American citizens to know the cost, so we can only estimate. But including the cost of maintaining US military strength there, the amount is tremendous."

Now, the chief argument that is advanced for our continuing to oppose the admission of Communist China to the UN is that Communist rule on the mainland is temporary, that it will some day be overthrown by internal revolt, and that the Nationalist Government will then be able to return. That this belief is firmly held by the Nationalists can be testified to by the writer as a result of a visit not long ago to Taiwan. The evidence adduced to support it is the steadily increasing popular discontent with the Communist regime resulting from growing economic distress and the dictatorial repression of individual rights. When asked whether this might be wishful thinking, a prominent official answered: "When de Gaulle arrived in England in June, 1940, what did you think were his chances of ever returning with his government to France? And yet he did some four years later and so shall we!"

Admiration for courage in clinging to a forlorn hope must be readily accorded. Yet the cold fact is that there is no present possibility of the Communist regime in China being overthrown unless the United States is prepared to go to war to assist the Nationalists to recover the mainland – a proposal which very few Americans advocate. The situation is therefore not analagous to that of de Gaulle, who was returned to France by British and American arms, but comparable to the White Russians who escaped after the Communist revolution of 1917 and who for a long time expected to return when the counter-revolution would be victorious.

Thus, the US must determine whether there is any reasonable chance of the Communist government in China being overthrown in the foreseeable future. Unless there is, it is certain that the most populous nation in the world will, sooner or later, be admitted to the UN. While obviously the question cannot be answered with mathematical certainty, it is submitted that we are going to have to accept the permanence of Communist China, just as after a period of years we accepted that of Communist Russia, and fashion our policies accordingly.

If this viewpoint were adopted by our government, what effect would it have in Asia?

Many of those in our foreign service in Asia – but not all – believe that the effect would be disastrous. They say that all of the other countries in Asia are acutely sensitive to shifts in power; that the prestige of Communist China would be immeasurably enhanced and that of the United States correspondingly decreased; that as a consequence, the idea of freedom which we have been seeking to spread would find fewer and fewer supporters; that Communism would spread over all of Asia; and that possibly some of the countries with whom we are allied, and certainly those still uncommitted, would team up with our enemies.

Other competent observers, however, reject this forecast. They say that the Asian appraisal of Communist power will not be changed by the admission of Peking to the UN, since the actualities of Communist China's strength are already fully realized and will not thereby be increased. They say further that admission would lessen the sympathy for Peking now widely felt in Asia by those who believe it is being improperly excluded. Several visits to the Orient have persuaded the writer that this latter analysis is correct.

Let us now turn to the second view: Since Communist China will ultimately be admitted to the UN in place of the Republic of China (so the thesis runs), and since this will necessarily lead to the United Nations accepting Communist China as the lawful government not only on the mainland but also on Taiwan, the US would be wise to abandon Taiwan.

The proponents of this position argue that there has been a civil war in China, that the preexisting government has been overthrown, and that a new government is in control. Since Taiwan is a part of China, the new government's legal rights extend to that island, even

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though a pocket of resistance may remain because of US interference in a domestic Chinese fight.

This analysis can be met on purely legal grounds: First, it is not true that Taiwan is a part of China; it was taken from Japan after World War II and not given back to China and is still legally owned jointly by the nations which signed the peace treaty. Furthermore, just as the Communists revolted and overthrew the Nationalist government on the mainland, so the Nationalist government on Taiwan can use force to effect its independence of the Communist government. A revolution if unsuccessful is a treasonable act, but if successful sets up a new regime which is recognized as lawful.

Finally, quite apart from legal niceties, the United States defeated Japan and compelled its surrender and took possession of Taiwan and still is in a position where it can determine who should hold Taiwan.

What should that determination be? In my judgment, it should be to prevent Communist China from taking control of Taiwan, and instead to set Taiwan up as an independent nation.

To begin with, there is not the slightest question that the vast majority of the inhabitants of the island – Taiwanese as well as Chinese from the mainland – are opposed to subjecting Taiwan to the rule of Communist China. Accordingly, if the principle of self-determination of nations – which is so widely invoked in behalf of all colonial countries – should be applied here, Taiwan is entitled to be recognized as a country independent of Communist China and to have its own government. If any serious doubt were raised in the General Assembly as to whether it is true that the inhabitants of Taiwan would prefer independence, the US could safely agree to a UN-conducted plebiscite.

A second reason for not surrendering Taiwan to the Communists is that it would be an ignoble abandonment of partners-in-arms. There is surely a moral obligation upon us to do what we can to prevent those who have been our allies – soldiers, officers, government officials and civilians – from being handed over to an enemy which would presumably not hesitate at wholesale liquidation.

Finally, Taiwan is almost equidistant from the Chinese mainland and the Philippines, and only a little further from Okinawa – a part of Japan. The Philippines and Japan rely upon us to come to their defense in the event of war. Such defense would be greatly weakened and perhaps in the case of the Philippines rendered impossible if Taiwan were in enemy hands.

For these reasons, it is submitted, the US should continue to oppose any action by the UN which would permit Communist China to take over Taiwan.

Let me say here, parenthetically, that although criticism of the Nationalist regime in Taiwan is often heard, a brief sojourn in the island is sufficient to convince an objective observer that the government as far as its economic and social aspects are concerned, is progressive. A land reform program has been put into effect that is an example that many other countries could well follow; the accomplishments in popular education and public health are tremendous. Likewise in the field of local self government there has been a great advance along democratic lines. Only in matters affecting foreign policy is the government completely in the hands of Chiang – and the justification given for it is that in every country which is at war democratic procedures must for the time being be violated and dictatorial powers accorded to the chief of state. If the war between Peking and Taiwan could be ended, there is every reason to believe that the Nationalist government would extend the Taiwanese the right of full representation (already granted them in local self government) in the national government.

Compromise in the UN

What is needed, therefore, is a US policy aimed at securing the admission of Communist China to the UN in such a form as not to bring Taiwan under Communist control. This would involve two steps: one, continuing Nationalist China as a member of the United Nations; and two, admitting Communist China *as a new member*. The reasoning in support of this procedure is that, as a result of civil war, the mainland of China has revolted and set up its own independent government, and the territory over which the Nationalist government continues to rule has been reduced to Taiwan. Notwithstanding the fact that the territory of Taiwan is much smaller than that of mainland China, its government is actually the continuing, existing one; Communist China is therefore the one to be admitted as a new member.

Obviously, such a policy will not satisfy either side – Communist or Nationalist China. Furthermore, like all compromises it is opposed by both sides as a yielding to the dictates of expediency. The Communist Chinese claim that it involves a surrender of territory rightfully theirs; the Nationalists claim it means abandoning the UN charter's requirement that applicants for membership be "peace loving." However, the fact that various Soviet satellites *have* been admitted amounts to a tacit repudiation of any membership qualifications and the recognition, instead, of the desirability of including all nations.

But could such a compromise be effected? The first step would be to obtain the necessary votes in the General Assembly to elect Communist China as a new member, entitled to a seat in the Assembly. This requires a two-thirds vote. Whether such consent can be obtained is a matter of conjecture. However, it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reasonable to believe that if the solution suggested above is not proposed at the pending General Assembly, an alternative proposal will be made to seat the delegates of Communist China *in place of* the delegates of Nationalist China, relying on the theory that Communist China has in fact and in law succeeded to Nationalist China and *is* the Republic of China named in the Charter as a member of the Security Council. One of the grave dangers from the standpoint of our government is that such a proposal could be adopted by majority vote, unless we can persuade the majority that this is a question of such importance that it should be decided only by two-thirds. Also, if such a proposal were to be adopted (either by majority or two-thirds vote) it is probable that it would not be subject to veto by the US – at least as far as Communist China's right to be seated in the General Assembly. Conceivably it might result in one China being recognized by the General Assembly and the other by the Security Council, which would be a highly anomalous situation.

To block any such moves to bring Communist China in by the back door – on the issue of credentials – it would be desirable for the US to take the initiative and propose the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and to hope that we could get the necessary two-thirds to support us.

The second step – prior in time but assuming favorable action by the General Assembly – would be to obtain the approval of the Security Council. This can be blocked by either Nationalist China or the USSR.

With respect to a veto by Nationalist China, if the US were to insist on this Two-Chinas' solution, the Chiang government would have no choice but to accept. American naval forces are Taiwan's only protection at present from invasion by Communist China. We are justified in imposing reasonable conditions upon the continuance of this protection. This may appear drastic, but in a matter so vital to the US, as well as to Taiwan itself, strong measures are proper.

Much more serious, however, is the possibility that Communist China and therefore the USSR would never agree to such a compromise. Peking has consistently taken the position that Taiwan was a part of China until seized by Japan, and should again become a part of China. It has refused to renounce the use of force to recover Taiwan. This would seem to doom any program for an independent Taiwan to failure. But does such a pessimistic supposition mean that no attempt should be made to win acceptance by Communist China? Surely nothing would be lost in the attempt, even though it should prove unsuccessful.

One further question must be considered.

Under the proposal made above, Nationalist China would continue to hold its seat in the Security Council as well as its membership in the United Nations. This may lead some nations to vote against it who otherwise would support it. If this proves to be the case, it is suggested that we then add to the proposal an additional element, namely that the UN Charter be amended under Article 108 so as to eliminate China's seat as a permanent member of the Security Council, and to provide that in place thereof one additional seat on the Security Council shall be filled by election.

This suggestion has the merit of ending the indefensible situation whereby a government having actual control over only 12 million people is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council and has the right of veto. At the same time the suggestion avoids substituting Communist China for Nationalist China on the Security Council – a move which would be strongly opposed by all of the countries which are anti-Communist. And finally, it has the merit of reducing by one the number of nations which have the paralyzing right of veto.

However, here again under the Charter, Nationalist China would have a veto and would undoubtedly desire to exercise that veto over an amendment to the Charter. To prevent this, it will be necessary, as indicated above, for the US to persuade, and as a last resort compel, Nationalist China to act in accordance with our judgment as to what is necessary in order to maintain the independence of Taiwan.

The USSR also would have the right to veto this addition to the proposal, but it presumably would do so only if it decided to veto the whole proposal of admitting Communist China as a new member, and the addition does not therefore create a further obstacle.

Will Red China Agree?

This suggested Charter amendment would not only increase the likelihood of the US being able to get a two-thirds vote for the compromise, but would also face Russia and Communist China with the choice of accepting the proposal or themselves being the ones who, through exercise of the Soviet veto, are responsible for keeping Communist China out of the United Nations.

In conclusion, one fundamental criticism of the program outlined here must be considered: namely, that it is wholly unrealistic because Communist China will not give up its claim to Taiwan or to a seat on the Security Council, and the proposal therefore is nothing more than another gambit in the propaganda game. The answer to this is clear. Even if it should prove true that Peking will not accept the proposal, the fact that the US is willing to make it and that Nationalist China, much against its desires, is willing to accept it should be sufficient to prevent the General Assembly's seating Communist China *in place of* Nationalist China.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kennedy and the Meaning of Sacrifice

by Alexander Welsh

After the election, one copy of *Why England Slept* (1940) at Yale University was removed to the Rare Book Room. It bears an autograph inscription to Colonel and Mrs. Charles Lindbergh. When Nigel Dennis reviewed this book twenty-one years ago (*NR*, September 16, 1940) he, like the Yale Library, was unaware of the author's eventual identity as President of the United States.

Why England Slept
by John F. Kennedy
(Wilfred Funk; $3.50)

In *Why England Slept*, Kennedy applied hindsight to the British failure to rearm in the thirties in order to urge foresight in American policy in 1940. Instead of decrying Baldwin and Chamberlain and appeasement he stressed the failure of the British nation itself – the failure of labor, business, and the press – to meet the German threat. "Munich was inevitable on the grounds of lack of armaments alone": appeasement had become the only choice.

In this brief history, or case study, written at the age of 24, two familiar themes of the President were set forth with great conviction: the peculiar disadvantage of a democracy in a crisis, and "the necessity of making sacrifices." The two ideas are related: without sacrificing individual interests to a national purpose "a democracy is hopelessly outclassed in trying to compete with a dictatorship."

Like everyone else, Kennedy today characterizes our chief political value as "freedom." His distinctive mark has been to argue *against* the unqualified use of freedom at home. His open reservations about freedom of the press are certainly rare in American politics. In international struggles, he has suggested, democracy has grave weaknesses. This is the idea that strikes one most forcibly in *Why England Slept*, viewed from the perspective of the first months of the new administration.

> "I say . . . that democracy's weaknesses are great in competing with a totalitarian system. Democracy is a superior form of government, because it is based on a respect for man as a reasonable being. *For the long run*, then, democracy is superior. . . . When it competes with a system of government which cares nothing for permanency, a system built primarily for war, democracy, which is built primarily for peace, is at a disadvantage."

Not only does a totalitarian government conduct its affairs in helpful privacy, but the entire nation can more easily be united behind a single dynamic purpose. In *Why England Slept* this sentiment emerges in bold terms:

> "[England] had failed to realize that if it hoped to compete successfully with a dictatorship on an equal plane, it would have to renounce temporarily its democratic privileges. All of its energies would have to be molded in one direction, just as all the energies of Germany had been molded since 1933. It meant voluntary totalitarianism, because, after all, the essence of a totalitarian state is that the national purpose will not permit group interest to interfere with its fulfillment."

"Voluntary totalitarianism" is not, of course, the same thing as totalitarianism. At least one's original commitment to the state is free. But the writer is chiefly concerned, then and now, with the problem of collective *energy* in a democracy.

Twenty-one years ago, Kennedy could conceive of the surrender of "democratic privileges" as a temporary measure. Even then, however, he was writing that "we shall have to be prepared to make long-sustained sacrifices if we are to preserve this way of life in the future." Today "freedom" is still the goal. But what is the difference between that kind of freedom and the kind of freedom one is required to surrender in order to defend it?

There is one meaning of freedom consistent with sacrifice – freedom under law. It is important to realize that the freedom we hope to export, in particular, is deeply conservative, being roughly equivalent to the "rule of law" or "due process." Kennedy now speaks of the "*legitimate* aspirations" of underprivileged people. In his address to the Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20 he speaks of "the legitimate discontent of yearning people." In what sense is the discontent of yearning people either legitimate or otherwise? A more explicit slogan than "freedom" would be "legitimacy." In other lands, certainly, we have often been more interested in order than in political liberty.

As a matter of fact, by Presidential proclamation, May Day in this country has become Law Day. This simple propagandistic device accurately reflects the world conflict as we see it: a conflict of revolution and law. A political revolution that respects the law of property, for example, is clearly permissible. And other kinds of revolution? That depends.

Unfortunately, neither law nor "freedom under law" are forces of energy, but rather a system for checking and channeling energy. What direct source of energy is it possible for our side to tap? Even if we turn to the "free enterprise" aspect of our freedom, we come up against another indirection, because we cannot preach the profit motive outright but only as a lamentable thing that works. We are for "permanency," in Kennedy's term, but the kinetic forces – the drive for bread, homes, and health – are still celebrated elsewhere on May Day (not Law Day).

Kennedy has two sets of solutions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for this dilemma. One is to insist that we *can* better our way of life in tangible ways, in our own country as well as overseas. But he places much more emphasis on the second kind of solution: that we should be ready to make more "sacrifices."

The President's persistent call for sacrifices has puzzled more people than it has inspired, however. In terms of *Why England Slept* alone, sacrifice means simply the willingness to pay for armaments. But armaments are the one thing that Kennedy does not have to ask for today. For military purposes Congress has voted $47 billion with fervent unanimity.

Short of war, the nature of the sacrifice turns out to be very general: it is the original sacrifice of individual ambitions and instincts that constitutes the state itself, according to the theory of a social contract. "Voluntary totalitarianism," in truth, carries the contract theory just about as far as it can go. Kennedy does not stress the doctrine of natural rights that has traditionally accompanied the idea of a contract, but always the contract itself, the commitment, the responsibility, the obligation of the individual. He begins where Blackstone begins in the *Commentaries*, asserting that "every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase."

But it makes no difference that Kennedy is in good legal and philosophical company. Sacrifice means the surrender of life, or a part of life, in the service of some higher cause. It is hardly a good in itself.

Furthermore, and particularly, the call for sacrifice has its dangers. According to the same concept of the social contract, in all its varieties from Hobbes to Freud, the chief instincts surrendered to civilized society are warlike and aggressive instincts. If you believe in the law of conservation of energy, that aggression is always there. In the days following the Cuban defeat the political and editorial voice of this nation rang with it. In Congress that week, in fact, Kennedy's domestic program borrowed some of *this* kind of energy and discernably moved forward for the first time in his administration.

Kennedy was elected in one of the most nationalistic campaigns in our history – I refer, of course, to that curiously abstract but compelling issue of our "prestige." There is no sign that the President will lack the armaments he requires and more; he has no Republican or other opposition in this area. And it is not true, even if it was true as Kennedy states of England in the thirties, that "there is no lobby for armaments." In *Why England Slept* he also argued that "the fundamental instinct of man against war binds the hands of democratic leaders." Have we really very much evidence in human history of a powerful instinct against war, or is it the other way around? . . .

This last possibility is one of which Kennedy seems unaware in his early book. In the same book he did perceive that although a democracy ordinarily "takes a long time to change its mind . . . one slight shock may make it change with lightning speed from one position to another." The experience of Cuba may have demonstrated that an active president can create shocks as well as defend against them. In dealing with Berlin and nuclear testing Kennedy has shown more awareness that the emotional and "accidental" possibility of war faces us from within as well as without.

The President holds a position of balance in the emotional state of the nation analogous to the role of tax and fiscal policy in the national economy, and probably much more important. But the past session of Congress has demonstrated once again that people always need most prodding to do things for themselves – to bring reason to bear on their own long-range prosperity. Men seldom need prodding to act against someone else – or even to ready themselves for sacrifice.

The Cult of the Distinguished

by Asher Brynes

At first, the title of this collection of informal essays on the attitudes of businessmen toward their associates and competitors, rather than toward the public, seems somewhat puzzling. They most certainly are not "folks" and anyone who has dealt with them knows that they heavily resent the imputation that they operate by instinct or rule of thumb. The intellectual fashion among them is that they are a select class of post-graduate rationalists; and current applications of computer technology to account and inventory keeping have tempted them to buy such tonnages of this recondite machinery that their brows, in the bigger companies, are touched with the glamour of science. Can it be that these cyberneticians have acquired a lore?

The Folklore of Management
by Clarence B. Randall
(Atlantic-Little, Brown; $4.75)

Mr. Randall, a perceptive and liberal-minded businessman now retired, was once up there with the best of them when he served as president of a major steel company. In recent years he has given much of his time to public causes, or as he would doubtless prefer to say, public service, notably as head of the Randall Commission in the middle fifties whose studies influenced a sufficient number of Republicans and die-hard Democrats to secure the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act – a feat that the present Administration apparently considers impossible today. Mr. Randall has been the businessman's intermediary in the White House itself (he was one of Eisenhower's senior assistants) and knows both sides of the subject he is dealing with, public as well as private management.

Although he says very little about the former, his experience of government colors his views today. He keeps harping on the trouble of convincing the stockholders who own the large corporations that they must recognize "the responsibility of ownership in return for the benefits which they receive." Normally, the directors look only at the balance sheet and stockholders never demand recognition except when a dividend is passed over. But Mr. Randall insists that "We are not free to make decisions on the basis of saving

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our own skins." In another place he says, "Some day we will realize that unless the businessman thinks more about his country and less about himself (and, inferentially, his profits) we may not always have a country."

But Mr. Randall is not, in this instance, referring to the physical defense of the United States. What he has in mind is the preservation of its spiritual essence; that is, freedom of choice – the active idea which drives the nation forward: "What society awaits from the businessman today is a new intellectual ferment for the generation of wise policy." Management should set an example of freedom of choice in practically all the important things of life – freedom to buy or not to buy, to spend or save, to work more or less or not at all, to follow any new impulse wherever it may lead, to take risks for gains – and put up with the consequences. He is all for spontaneity and adjustment to change and, though it is not mentioned quite so often as the exhilaration of living in a world of endless novelties and chances, accepting the result when, at any given moment, it turns out badly. For in the long run everything in such a social order is bound to turn out well.

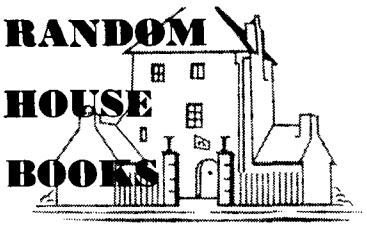
What he means by the folklore of management turns out to be the collection of devices and usages by which businessmen seek to purge their lives of uncertainty, sit pretty on the positions they have achieved, and enjoy the profits and perquisites. It succumbs – in one of his most informative chapters – to "The Myth of the Magic Numbers." He substitutes counting for judgment. He hires armies of interviewers to ask the customer what he intends to buy, the worker what displeases him about his job, and (fewer questioners are required on this level, of course) the directors what they propose to approve for capital expenditures in the next year – and by asking at such a time reinforces their momentary doubts about spending anything for such purposes at all. "The net result is that the courage and insight of wide, experienced minds is swallowed up in the accumulated mediocrity of the thoughtless and the irresponsible."

What difference does it really make, asks Mr. Randall, what the average man thinks about anything? "It is the man out in front who must take America ahead. Perhaps we should know the average man's opinion so that we may be alerted to our weaknesses, but society needs to follow the best, not the second best. To poll ten people on a street corner about the outflow of gold is to wallow in trivia. We need, instead, a consuming zeal for the cult of the distinguished."

Hidden somewhere in this lovely rhetoric is a theme as important as anything else he has to say, but he does not define it clearly. The determination of what the average man thinks in an open society such as our own must result, logically, in the finding of an equilibrium point at the moment the poll was taken; one knows, in that instant, precisely what the majority wants or thinks. But, speaking generally, the effort to use such survey results as a basis for action over the long term, is to build on sand. A poll tells nothing more than what was in the minds of those who responded to the interviewers at the time it was taken; and sometimes, if the questions are ill-designed, it does not even tell that much. Any large-scale actions which may be taken in accordance with the result of a poll, tend to invalidate the result.

Mr. Randall's enthusiastic endorsement of change stops short at one point. He examines the question of whether we have lost incentive for change in the current search for personal security. He answers the aspersion – for so he regards it – in trumpet tones. "This I challenge. This charge, tragic if true, is in my opinion definitely a myth. On the contrary, I believe that the modern forms of personal security which now shape our entire society are desirable, in that they give a new balance to the economy and bring to the individual a new steadiness of purpose which greatly increases effort . . . [they] coincided with the greatest surge of industrial expansion our country has ever known and the period of our country's most imaginative and creative resiliency."

"I grew up and entered business," he says at another point, "under the old way, then came to retirement under the new; almost without exception I resisted each new change. Almost invariably I was wrong, as it turned out."



The New World of Philosophy

By Abraham Kaplan. A masterful, lucid guide to the major philosophies of the world. $4.95

A History of Russia

By Jesse D. Clarkson. One of America's leading Russian scholars reviews a thousand colorful years. Illustrated. $10.00

The African Revolution

By James Cameron. What started the African revolution . . . and where will it end? Illustrated with maps. $3.95

The Arab Revival

By Francesco Gabrieli. A provocative key to that jigsaw puzzle of rivalry, the modern Arab world. $3.95

The Wisdom of Buddhism

Edited by Christmas Humphreys. England's foremost authority on Buddhism presents a comprehensive anthology of Buddhist writings. $4.95

The Politics of Totalitarianism

By John A. Armstrong. The definitive history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union since 1934. $7.50

Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vital new books for *New Republic* readers . . .

•

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

Your basic rights are being threatened in the name of law enforcement! One of our most admired writers on civil liberties demonstrates how the illegal actions of "the authorities" in their fight against crime are undermining our freedom. Drawing vivid examples from one fascinating case after another, he investigates the uses and abuses of confessions, a citizen's right to privacy and how it is threatened by electronic eavesdropping, and he reminds us that eternal vigilance—against the forces of "law and order"—is still the price of liberty. An exciting and disturbing book by the author of *The Loyalty of Free Men.* $4.50

by ALAN BARTH

•

BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

Six Exercises in Political Thought

"Miss Arendt is one of the most brilliant and original of living political philosophers. . . . There is throughout these essays a tension between an almost uncanny (and exceedingly feminine) percipience and a noble, elevated (and exceedingly masculine) architectonic of ideas. I find this combination a powerful one."

—IRVING KRISTOL, *The New Republic* $5.00

by HANNAH ARENDT

•

At your bookstore

THE VIKING PRESS
New York 22, N. Y.

The Meaning of Leskov

by Robie Macauley

Poor Leskov was as unfortunate in his choice of contemporaries as any writer of mere talent could be. They were Gogol, Turgenev, Dostovesky, Tolsto, and gol, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Chekhov. The mills of criticism grind by comparisons, always comparing, and Leskov has been variously described as a lesser Saltykov-Schedrin, a minor Chekhov, or (by V.S. Pritchett) as "a Dostoevsky without the epileptic fits." He chose the wrong century and the wrong company to be born into – a wrong company to be born into – a miscalculation which at times did make him sound like somebody else.

Selected Tales
by Nicolai Leskov
translated by David Magarshack
(Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $5)

Leskov's best stories belong to the childhood of fiction and not to the sophisticated society of the 19th-Century Russian novel. He worked happiest and best when he was making up his own shrewd folk-tale belonging to some timeless past of adventure and mischance. Though he usually pretended to be perfectly contemporary, that is only his fiction. His stories accept the facts that futures can be foretold, ghosts can play parts, thoughts become animals, and sorcerers – thinly disguised in modern dress – can be met with at the inn.

In "The Enchanted Wanderer," one of his best tales, which is included in this volume, a girl lost in the woods comes upon some beehives and an old man with toothless gums who "seemed all covered with beeswax and he smelled of honey and in his yellow eyebrows bees were swarming." When the girl says that she is looking for Ivan Severyanych, the old man says, "call him, my pretty maid, once with the wind and once against the wind, and then he'll feel a longing for you and he'll start looking for you and you'll meet." She goes on her way, calling once with and once against – and they do meet.

Even in the most "realistic" stories, full of contemporary bureaucrats, landowners, Orthodox clergy, or Moscow merchants, there is a sense of it all taking place in some kingdom of Grimm's. One of the great turns in the history of fiction was to make the human mind responsible – to make it the true center of causality. Once we believed that, the events of life had to come from human predispositions or calculable psychology. What was once explained by the workings of external mystery now becomes internal states. Good magic or bad magic became obsessions, complexes, inhibitions. Leskov's work never shared that sober maturity of the art; it was, in a way, both too old and too young.

This is not to say that Leskov was without ideas. He once said that in the future the beauty of his imaginative work would have faded and, "my books will be read for the ideas contained in them." Prince Mirsky adds the comment, "very few of his admirers realize what his ideas were." Exactly – and the latest proof is V.S. Pritchett's graceful introduction to this volume.

One of the most famous tales here translated is "The Left-handed Craftsman," which begins with the visit of the Tsar to England to study the miracles of English technical accomplishment for the benefit of ignorant Russia. He is presented with a marvelous steel flea with a microscopic key that winds the mechanism to make it dance. To the despair of his own Tula workmen, a latter Tsar challenges them to produce something as striking. The craftsmen pray to an ikon of St. Nicholas and proceed to do something to the flea. As the Tsar discovers at the examination, they have shod it with almost-invisible flea-shoes and he exclaims, "You see, I knew better than any of you that my Russians would never let me down." That is sufficient for Mr. Pritchett and also for the translator, who says in *his* preface that "the moral of the story is real enough, as recent events have all too clearly shown." But, at this point, Leskov has told only half his story. Actually, it is not so much about the flea as about the craftsman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

ON THE ONE HAND WE CAN'T EXPECT PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO BREAK FROM PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED POLICIES WITHOUT **FIRST** MAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE **READY** FOR SUCH A BREAK.

SO ON THE **SURFACE** HE MUST **CONTINUE** WITH THOSE POLICIES WHILE **BEHIND** THE SCENES HE CAN SOUND OUT OUR ENEMIES ON **CHANGES.**

NOW **UNAVOIDABLY** THERE WILL BE **PRESS** LEAKS ABOUT THESE FEELERS, SO IN ORDER TO AVOID **ADVERSE PUBLIC REACTION,** KENNEDY MUST **REAFFIRM** OUR **PREVIOUS** POLICIES AND CALL FOR FURTHER SACRIFICES— WHILE CONTINUING HIS FEELERS BEHIND THE SCENES.

IN A FEW YEARS, IF **ALL** GOES WELL, THE MAJOR ISSUES OF THE COLD WAR CAN BE SETTLED BEHIND THE SCENES. NEWS OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL BE PUBLICLY **DENIED,** OF COURSE—

AND TO AVOID TOO OPEN A BREAK WITH PREVIOUS POLICY KENNEDY WILL CONTINUE OUR SERIES OF LATIN AMERICAN INVASIONS AND BE PHOTOGRAPHED WITH ALL REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

The Hall Syndicate, Inc.

WITH THE DISCREET MANIPULATION OF HOME OPINION, WHO KNOWS BUT WITHIN THREE OR FOUR YEARS AFTER THE COLD WAR **ENDS** THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAY BE READY TO **HEAR** ABOUT IT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who shod him – and that is where the meaning lies.

The Tsar proudly orders both the man and the flea sent to England to show the English "what fine craftsmen they were in Tula." He is a kind of technician-ambassador who is treated with admiration and encouraged to stay on. He learns one secret of great importance from the English; after a while, becoming homesick for Russia, he demands return passage. On the way he gets into a drinking contest with a British sailor and the result is that they are both delivered at St. Petersburg in a bad state. And now Leskov, having done everything else as preliminary, reaches his real point. The English sailor is taken to the Embassy at once, given good medical attention, and put to bed. The marvelous craftsman is thrown on the floor of a police station, treated with the greatest brutality, and at last taken to a public infirmary to die. But with his last breath, he keeps faith with the Tsar and transmits the vital secret – which, in fact, is suppressed by an official and never reaches the Tsar. So, says Leskov, "If they had brought the left-handed craftman's message to the Emperor in time there would have been quite a different story to tell about the Crimean War."

"You see," said the Tsar, "I know better than any of you that my Russians would never let me down." Remembered at the end, those words conduct the real lightning of what Leskov has to say. Disguised as a folk-tale, this is one of the most piercing and subversive stories in Russian literature.

The theme recurs. Ivan Severyanych in "The Enchanted Wanderer" runs away from his master after being flogged, spends a long time in captivity among the Tartars, and when he finally returns is received with a triple flogging. In "The Sentry," the little private who leaves his post to save a drowning man sets all the beaucratic wheels to spinning – but the outcome for him is only another flogging. In "The Make-up Artist," (not contained in this volume) a monstrous Count rapes or tortures his servants. With their commonplaces of brutality, the masters belong to that race of wicked stepmothers, ugly elder sisters and treacherous giants. The people, the Real People, that Leskov wrote of with charm and humor are the third sons, the woodcutter's daughters lost in the forest, the brave little tailors. In the end they survive their rulers not through clever revenges or the sudden working of beneficent magic – Leskov was too wise about life to say that – but simply because they are far more human. It is here that Leskov departs from the remoteness of folk-tales and becomes something else again. And it is to be probably this quality that made him a favorite among Russian readers long after the critics had discarded him.

As a re-introduction of Leskov to American readers, this volume has a few minor faults. "The White Eagle," for instance is one of his weaker tales. (Oddly enough, the translator seems to think that it is "unique" in Russian literature because it is a ghost story – forgetting Gogol's famous "The Cloak.") But the other stories are well-chosen and the translation is sharp and vigorous. I hope that its success will be great enough to warrant new Magarshack volumes containing such work as "The Sealed Angel," "The Musk-Ox," *The Hare Park*, and *The Cathedral People*. Most of what we have of Leskov in English is still embalmed in the coffin of A. E. Chamot's translation.

"AT NO POINT *is the inner bond between Liberalism and Jacobinism so obvious as in their common hostility to religion in public life and in their common commitment to the thoroughly secularized laic state. But since no enduring social order is possible without some common set of ideas, values and purposes, the 'religion-free' Liberal State necessarily came to mean a state in which the pseudo-religion of secularism was enthroned and established.*" (*From Will Herberg's new column on religion.*)

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-9, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y., for free copy.

MOVIES

Microcosms from Europe and America

The Kitchen (Kingsley International)
Splendor in the Grass (Warner Bros.)

"The thing that would astonish anyone coming into the service quarters . . . for the first time would be the fearful noise and disorder during the rush hours . . . You cannot grill a steak two hours before it is wanted . . . The result is that at meal-times every-one is doing two men's work, which is impossible without noise and quarrelling . . . It was for this reason that during the rush hours the whole staff raged and cursed like demons."

These lines, from Orwell's description of his experiences in a Paris restaurant (*Down and Out in Paris and London*) also fix the dominant note in *The Kitchen*, which is set in London. The film is an adaption of a much-discussed play by a much-discussed young English dramatist, Arnold Wesker. Along with Orwell, Wesker reminds us forcibly of the little nuggets of hell that lurk just on the edges of our lives: big kitchens, mines, laundries, to name a few.

The restaurant hell is particularly ironic because the calm dining-room pretends that the hectic kitchen doesn't exist and because there is something ridiculous in an agony that rises out of fixing chops and fish and salads. But the hell is made real; Wesker and his director, James Hill, plunge you head-first into the texture and insane rhythm of the place at its peaks of fever.

Such plot as there is in this short film (an hour an a quarter) concerns an emigré German cook (solidly played by Carl Mohner) who is in love with a married waitress. When he realizes that she is not going to get a divorce and when he learns that she has aborted his child, he goes berserk, chops gas-pipes with a cleaver, smashes glasses until his hands are bloody. Set around him are character vignettes of Englishmen (several kinds) and an assortment of Europeans.

Like Arthur Miller's *Memory of Two Mondays*, this short work is a dramatized memoir of an early job, but additionally Wesker means his kitchen as a microcosm, and he gives you no chance to escape his meaning. ("This stinking kitchen is like the world.") But after he has reproduced kitchen life pungently, he seems to have only one thing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to tell us: that the men and women who work there would like to be out of it. The thinness of Wesker's comment on his material, the surface facility of his microcosm, is glaringly manifested in his treatment of the owner, who wanders through, like a *boyar* among his serfs, watching, clucking, being mildly kind in self-defense, but who has in effect only two lines. Whenever anything goes wrong, he says, "Sabotage." And after the running-amok, he asks the German what in the world he wants. Doesn't he have food, a job, good wages? "What is there more?" the boss asks, bewildered. Is seems a bankrupt attempt to portray the bankruptcy of materialist society.

What are the Socialist Wesker's hopes for the German and his friends? If the play is an indictment of the callous capitalist world, what does Wesker think the kitchens of Soviet restaurants are like at meal-times? Or, if that is a repugnant question to a democratic socialist, what then would it be like in Wesker's personal New Jerusalem? If these workers knew that they were not to be cast out into the alley when they were old, would that make the work any less fiendish during rush-hours?

The only logical implication of Wesker's play is not socialist but nihilist, that society itself – which makes restaurants – ought to be abolished. But this, I think, is to credit Wesker with more lucid intentions than he had. His film is a valid but essentially inartistic and, in a serious sense, meaningless picture of a life-trap by one who was lucky enough to escape it.

Splendor in the Grass, a film about Midwest adolescents, was written by William Inge, and its parallels with *Summer and Smoke* – by Inge's master, Tennessee Williams – are interesting. This story, too, is about a girl of the 1920's who wants a young man and who, when he tries to make love to her, repulses him out of parentally-derived puritanism. He then turns to a loose girl, and the heroine goes into a decline. When she comes out of it, he is married to someone else, and she must settle for second-best.

However, the effect is less like a high-school version of Williams' play than an Andy Hardy story with glands. The theme is exactly the reverse of those Victorian pamphlets for youth which pointed out the dangers of sex; Inge is preaching the dangers of abstinence. A Martian who saw this film might infer that all adolescents deprived of sexual intercourse go crazy.

The miseries of adolescent repression – and of adult frustration, for that matter – are not a joke, but this film is: because of its simplistic, mechanical view of sex and life and its protracted sententiousness.

Natalie Wood plays the girl with a small but adequate set of skills, and Warren Beatty is unobjectionable, if not overwhelming, as a boy. Pat Hingle, his father, presents the moneyed version of the Inge father he played on Broadway in *Dark at the Top of the Stairs:* a good-hearted, imperceptive, rustic extrovert.

Elia Kazan, who directed, has tried to give the film power by pushing people up against each other at every possible moment and then pushing the camera up against them. His stylistic range has been narrowed as severely as Studio training narrows an actor, and since he has done and re-done neurotic material like this until he is clearly weary of it, we are given a bag of stale tricks artifically steamed up to make them seem pulsing with capital-T Truth. Kazan has stated lately that he is through with Broadway and will reserve himself for films and the Lincoln Center. *Splendor* is something of a gauge that reads very close to "Empty." He may be through with Broadway for more than the stated reasons.

Stanley Kauffmann

Notes on Contributors

Alexander Welsh *is an English instructor at Yale.* Robie Macauley *is editor of* The Kenyon Review.

RECORDS

Rhythm, Tempo and Proportion

We are told that Leonard Bernstein, rehearsing the senior orchestra of New York's High School of Music and Art once, said: "You're hastening your crescendos. That is one of the sins of youth." It was a musical immaturity which Furtwaengler never outgrew, and which endeared him to listeners with the similar deficiency in their musical taste. The musical object that a conductor creates with an orchestra assumes its shape in time; and it is the ability to set a right tempo and to maintain continuity and proportion in the modifications of that tempo that gives the object the plastically coherent shape it had in a Toscanini performance. But what was most characteristic of a Furtwaengler performance was the alternation of over-deliberateness and frenzied rush, representing a concentration on the effect of the moment that produced a series of such moments instead of an integrated entity. I had retained a recollection of the alternation being less frequent and damaging in the pre-war performance of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique;* and so, listening to the performance as reissued on COLH-21 in Angel's Great Recordings of the Century series, I was unprepared

the Harvard senior who wrote this book is now President of the United States

WHY ENGLAND SLEPT

Read this provocative and timely book about the shortcomings of democracy when confronted by the menace of totalitarianism . . . written by John F. Kennedy in 1940 and long out of print. New foreword by Henry R. Luce.

Available at all bookstores, $3.50
A WILFRED FUNK PUBLICATION
Distributed by Funk & Wagnalls

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE

A low-cost unregimented tour with the fun of personal discovery. A unique route—up to 70 days & 24 countries on & off the beaten path. Russia, N. Africa optional. Unless the conventional type tour is a must for you, write

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N Pasadena, California

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

ATHEISTS! AGNOSTICS!
THE SECULARIST
Timely, informative, leading monthly magazine
Send $1 6 mos. trial or $5 yr. membership to:
American Secularist Association
Box 91-NR, Newark 1, N. J.

SHAKESPEARE'S selected quotations from Plays or Sonnets. Beautifully lettered by renowned Calligrapher. Lithographed, two colors on parchment. For framing or gifts. $2.00 each. Free folder listing Shakespeare items.
HAND AND QUILL
Box 974, Sherman Oaks, California

Let us MAKE YOUR OPINIONS COUNT
Let us SEND THEM TO EVERY CONGRESSMAN
Let us do this for 33 cents a month
ACOPOLL (NR) 430 S. Michigan, Chicago, Ill.

PENNSYLVANIANS interested in movement to exempt buildings from taxation write UNTAX, 623 Parson, Easton, Pa.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c

NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

WANTED: Investors to back words with deeds—

ISSUE: Housing without discrimination

for prospectus mail coupon

Dept. NR
Morris Milgram, President
Planned Communities Inc.
84 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey

Name .....

Address .....

City .....Zone.....State.....

for the over-deliberate pace right at the start of the Allegro of the first movement and the rush of the first crescendo a moment later, the slowing down to an even more deliberate pace and the greater rush of the next crescendo, and more of the same in that movement; for the enormous slowing down of the last statements of the march theme and the frenzied rush of the final bars in the third movement; and for the sudden rushes in the last movement. Moreover I had forgotten the sentimentalizing slow tempo of the second subject in the first movement, the tasteless exaggeration of nuance in the first part of the second movement, the dragging of the middle part of that movement. But I had remembered the beautiful playing of the Berlin Philharmonic.

When Furtwaengler died, one critic contended that he had understood "German music of philosophical conception" – Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms – as few other interpreters ever have, had played it "more eloquently, more movingly, more compellingly" than anyone else, and had exhibited in his performances of it "a supreme sense of form." But I found it impossible to accept the distortions of the expressive content of Beethoven's works by the musical objects in which Furtwaengler's moment-to-moment vagaries and excesses destroyed all plastic coherence. I felt this about the 1951 Bayreuth performance of Beethoven's Ninth when it was first issued; and I feel it again about the performance as reissued on GRB-4003 in Angel's Great Recordings series. It is a performance for someone who accepts Furtwaengler's idea that he will achieve twice the profundity of Toscanini's Ninth with tempos twice as slow as Toscanini's, and twice as much expressiveness in the flowing variations of the slow movement with twice the amount of dynamic intensification of their melodic inflections. For me the performance achieves a monstrous caricature of the great work revealed in Toscanini's performance. The orchestra is mediocre; the tenor Hans Hopf sings with constriction; the sound in the finale is unclear from reverberaton; but Schwarzkopf and Edelmann sing well and the chorus is good.

Angel, which placed us in its debt by issuing on 3556, a few years ago, Dinu Lipatti's last recital in Besancon in September 1950, has now issued on 35931 his performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.467 in Lucerne on August 23 of that year. Schnabel's great performance of this work on Angel COLH-67 is one with which all others are bound to be compared; and if Lipatti's playing in the Allegros doesn't have Schnabel's unique combination of grace and strength it has a nobility of melodic style that suits the *maestoso* character of the first movement, and it is enchantingly lively in the finale; but instead of Schnabel's calm, spacious, large-spanned enunciation of the long cantilena of the extraordinary Andante Lipatti produces a hurriedly impassioned statement of it that is far less impressive and effective. I can report good playing by the Lucerne Festival Orchestra under von Karajan, but sound that is at times unclear; however anyone who values Lipatti's playing will want this performance. The disc is completed by Enesco's inconsequential Sonata Op. 24.

The Russian pianist Gilels does more sensitive playing than I have heard from him before in parts of Schubert's Sonata Op. 53 on RCA Victor LM – and LSC-2493 – these parts being the second movement, the Trio of the Scherzo, and the melodic episode in the finale. But the rest is played in too rigid a manner for Schubert – the Scherzo being without the lilt, and the finale without the grace, that Schnabel imparted to them.

Schnabel's lovely playing of Schubert and his lovely playing of the piano can be heard in the pre-war performance of the *Trout* Quintet with members of the Pro Arte Quartet and Hobday, on COLH-40 in Angel's Great Recordings of the Century series.

Two of Schumann's finest works for piano, the *Papillons* Op. 2 and Symphonic Etudes Op. 13, are on Columbia ML-5642 and MS-6242, with the *Waldszenen* Op. 82, of which I find only the *Vogel als Prophet* attractive. Schumann is one composer whose music Robert Casadesus plays very satisfyingly – with Romantic warmth but without excessive rubato; and the performances on these records are excellent.

B. H. HAGGIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Salinger and Sex

Sirs:

I must object to the superficial appraisal of J. D. Salinger's work that appeared in the September 18, 1961 issue of your magazine under the title, "Salinger's Oasis of Innocence." What your reviewer, Anne Marple, has done is to confuse Salinger's criticism of our society's corruption of sex with a distrust of sex itself.

How misleading and unfair to this writer who approaches more perceptively than almost any other the serious problems the young people of our society face when they try to understand the meaning of sex in their lives. Holden Caulfield in *Catcher in the Rye* is surprised, and at the same time fascinated, by what he sees going on in the rooms across from his at the hotel where he spends his first night in New York City. But sex in itself is not what Salinger is pitting Holden against here. In this passage Holden is made to contemplate a degraded, misused sex, for in it Salinger is presenting the repeating motif of the novel, the picture of Holden engaged in a struggle to keep his own attitudes free of the corruption he sees in the activities of others. Holden confesses his reactions to the reader, and we see clearly that what he has experienced has been another in the long series of *trials* that he must undergo before he comes to the end of his adventure. He says:

> "The trouble was, that kind of junk is sort of fascinating to watch, even if you don't want it to be. For instance, that girl that was getting water squirted all over her face, she was pretty good-looking. I mean that's my big trouble. In my *mind*, I'm probably the bigest sex maniac you ever saw. Sometimes I can think of *very* crumby stuff I wouldn't mind doing if the opportunity came up. I can even see how it might be quite a lot of fun, in a crumby way, and if you were both sort of drunk and all, to get a girl and squirt water or something all over each other's face. The thing is, though, I don't *like* the idea. It stinks, if you analyze it. I think if you don't really like a girl, you shouldn't horse around with her at all, and if you *do* like her, then you're supposed to like her face, and if you like her face, you ought to be careful about doing crumby stuff to it, like squirting water all over it." (*The Catcher in the Rye*)

Sex itself, separate from its misuse, or even in conjunction with its misuse at times, appears to be one of the positive goods in Salinger's world. Lane Coutell in "Franny" reveals only one set of genuine and good feelings, and those who have to do with the physical side of his love for Franny. For a moment as Lane goes to meet Franny up the train platform we like him:

> "Franny was among the first of the girls to get off the train, from a car at the far, northern end of the platform. Lane spotted her immediately, and despite whatever it was he was trying to do with his face, his arm that shot up into the air was the whole truth. Franny saw it, and him, and waved extravagantly back. She was wearing a sheared raccoon coat, and Lane, walking toward her quickly but with a slow face, reasoned to himself, with suppressed excitement, that he was the only one on the platform who really *knew* Franny's coat. He remembered that once, in a borrowed car, after kissing Franny for a half hour or so, he had kissed her coat lapel, as though it were a perfectly desirable, organic extension of the person herself." (*Franny and Zooey*)

Even when Holden is attracted to someone like the phony Sally Hayes whom he must reject as a person, the disappointment about her lack of interior glamour is somewhat detracted from by the spontaneous and exuberant quality of his reaction to the girl's physical charms. In *Catcher in the Rye* Holden is trying to keep things straight about sex, to separate the *use* the weak and confused make of sex to degrade it and themselves, from the experience he instinctively knows it should be, a way of love.

Janet Sullivan
Providence, Rhode Island

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

AFRIQUE action

The liberal voice of emerging Africa.
Edited in Tunis, in French. Send 25c for your copy.
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
Room 503, 1475 Broadway, New York 36

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$2.00 Complete.
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

COPY PINK SHEETS
FREE!
Write today for your FREE copy. Absolutely no obligation!
DANIEL S. MEAD
Literary Agent
915 Broadway
N.Y.C., Dept. III
- Lists top-notch writers' markets U.S.A.!
- Cash prizes for writers!
- Offers writing help!

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $20.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder.
Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

WANTED: old PHYSICS books before 1890. THOS. STALEY, 1436R, Eagle Point, Oregon.

DESIRE LOAN. Sufficient amount to insure full academic program for ex-serviceman beginning college the fall semester of 1962. Intend to pursue pre-professional curriculum. Therefore, need all time for studies. Repayment need be over long period. Write: Prentice E. Jones, Navy #85, Box #385, c/o F.P.O., San Francisco, California.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $2 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

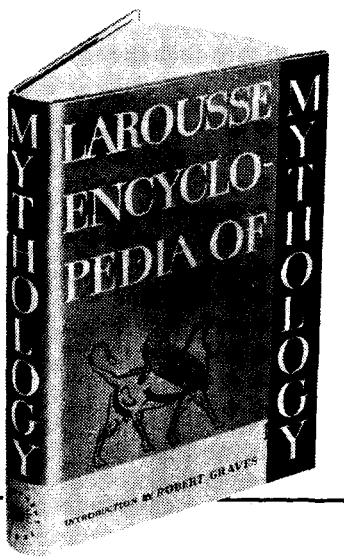
Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save as much as $27.50

with this Introductory Offer from the Marboro Book Club

Any 3 for $3.95 with a trial membership



UP TO $31.45 WORTH OF BOOKS—yours for only $3.95—(and such books!). *The distinguished volumes listed here sell regularly for as much as $15.00 apiece.* Most of them are Marboro Book Club "exclusives"—you would have to pay full price for them anywhere else. So you see, this is no ordinary offer. But then, this is no ordinary book club.

A SELECT CIRCLE OF READERS. The Marboro Book Club was established for readers who know what they want without reference to the bestseller lists.

Like a co-operative, which it resembles in many ways, the Marboro Book Club enables readers who share the same tastes to *pool* their *purchasing power* and thereby save an average of *one-half* on the books they want most.

SAVE 50% ON BOOKS ALL YEAR! This purchasing-power pool makes possible *important savings* through low Members' Prices. But that isn't all. With every four selections (or alternates) accepted after this introductory offer, you receive a *Free Bonus Book* of your choice. And this extraordinary trial-membership offer means you can start saving today.

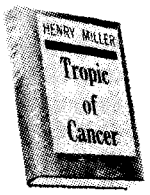
REACH FOR A PENCIL NOW and send for the three books you want right now. Remember you'll save as much as $27.50 below regular bookstore prices. Mail coupon today while offer lasts.

The complete fifteen-dollar

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF MYTHOLOGY

Introduction by *Robert Graves*. The only complete encyclopedia of World Mythology from pre-Biblical Egypt and pre-Homeric Greece to the farthest reaches of Africa, the Orient, and the Pacific. Illustrated with an incomparable assemblage of authentic Painting, Sculpture, Symbols, Idols, Ritual and Sacrificial Objects, many rarely seen by Western eyes. 8½" x 11½". 868 illustrations, some in full color.
List Price $15.00

TROPIC OF CANCER
By Henry Miller



The long-awaited first American edition of an international classic. The complete text with an Introduction by *Karl Shapiro* and a Preface by *Anaïs Nin*. "One of the most significant contributions to the literature of our time." —*Sir Herbert Read.*
List Price $7.50

JAPANESE INN. By Oliver Statler. "A strangely beautiful book.... Sheer delight."—*San Francisco Chronicle.* "A magnificent piece of writing. One of the most beautiful books to be published this year."—*James A. Michener.* Illustrated with prints, woodcuts and drawings. **List Price $6.50**

THE LAST OF THE JUST. By André Schwarz-Bart. "A monumental masterpiece. Has the epic quality of *The Wall*, the universality of *The Diary of Anne Frank.*"—*Saturday Review.* Winner of the Prix Goncourt.
List Price $4.95

MAN, GOD AND MAGIC. By Ivar Lissner, author of *The Living Past.* The epic story of the search to discover the religion of prehistoric man... his rites and practices, his beliefs, and his forgotten God. 118 photographs.
List Price $5.95

THE WORLD OF ROME. By Michael Grant. What it was like to be a citizen of Imperial Rome during its era of unparalleled power. Companion volume to *The Greek Experience.* **List Price $6.50**

THEY STUDIED MAN. By Abram Kardiner and Edward Preble. The great thinkers, from Darwin and Freud to Benedict and Malinowski, who shaped our view of modern man. **List Price $5.00**

THE EROTIC IN LITERATURE. By David Loth. A historical survey of pornography as delightful as it is indiscreet. "Actually adds a new important dimension to the whole question... A new, exciting, approach." —*Morris L. Ernst.* **List Price $5.95**

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. A Definitive Biography by Henri Perruchot. A milestone of art scholarship, illustrated with every photograph available today of Lautrec, his friends and family, and the women made immortal by his work. **List Price $6.00**

LIFE OF MICHELANGELO. By Charles H. Morgan. Illustrated with more than 100 exceptional plates.
List Price $6.00

DUAL SELECTION—COUNTS AS ONE

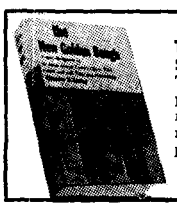
FIRMAMENT OF TIME. By Loren Eiseley, author of *The Immense Journey.* How modern science has changed man's view of himself and his world.

THE LIBERAL HOUR. John Kenneth Galbraith, the author of *The Affluent Society* explodes still more of the myths that blind America to today's realities. **Combined List Price $7.00**

PHILOSOPHY AND THE MODERN WORLD. By Albert W. Levi. The dilemma of modern man as exemplified in Sartre, Russell, Einstein, Dewey, Freud, Toynbee and Lenin. **List Price $7.50**

AMERICAN SCHOLAR READER. Great writing from this distinguished American quarterly. Authors include Santayana, Margaret Mead, Edmund Wilson, Erich Fromm. **List Price $7.95**

GROWING UP ABSURD. By Paul Goodman. "A great book. A major breakthrough in social criticism."—*Norman Podhoretz, Commentary.* **List Price $4.50**



THE NEW GOLDEN BOUGH. By Sir James G. Frazer. Edited by Theodor H. Gaster. A completely new and modern edition, revised in the light of the most recent discoveries in anthropology. ***List Price $8.50***

A READER'S GUIDE TO LITERARY TERMS. By Karl Beckson and Arthur Ganz. An invaluable guide to all literary terms in dictionary form, organized and cross-referenced for easy use. **List Price $4.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT NOW*

* But, if you enclose $3.95 with this coupon you get an even bigger bargain—three books of your choice PLUS a FREE copy of Vance Packard's influential best-seller, THE WASTEMAKERS (our way of thanking you for making our bookkeeping easier).

MARBORO BOOK CLUB
131 Varick Street, New York 13, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a trial member of the Marboro Book Club and send me these THREE books for only $3.95.

1_____

2_____

3_____

☐ Please bill me at $3.95 plus shipping charge.
☐ I enclose $3.95. Club will pay shipping and you will include my free copy of **THE WASTEMAKERS** by Vance Packard.

Forthcoming selections and alternates will be described to me in a Monthly Advance Bulletin and I may decline any book simply by returning the printed form always provided. I agree to buy as few as four additional books (or alternates) at the reduced Members' Price during the next twelve months: and I may resign at any time thereafter. I will receive a free BONUS BOOK for every four additional books I accept.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE____

GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied with this SPECIAL OFFER, you may return the books within 7 days and your membership will be cancelled. MS696

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED